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Estimates on the 779
total number[11] of clergy vary, but in 1931 they 793
appear to have numbered 500,000 - 600,000. Refugees reported that four out of every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954 it was estimated that there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its dwindling influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

While the traditional clergy was in decline, 779
Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted 794
the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: than an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the Red Swastika Society (modeled on the Red Cross), YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were

11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
12. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Atrocities.

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organized. Buddhist writing and publishing were encouraged.[14]

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The Chinese Buddhist Association, founded in 1914 to oppose the effort to make Confucianism a state religion, continued as the main organization of Chinese Buddhists. It claimed 4,620,000 members in 1947, but its organization was loose and weak; it included heterogeneous components: Buddhist philosophers, simple believers, reformist clergy and many of the old clergy, nationalists, internationalists, and Japan-oriented pan-Asians. The great abbot T'ai-hsü, master monk-politician, tried to weld these elements into a strong, effective, and enduring organization which could formulate an attractive long range program and defend Buddhism against attack. But he ultimately failed, and the Buddhists of China had not the means to defend themselves against Kuomintang pressure; when the Communist came, the Buddhists had a stronger adversary and neither the means nor the spirit to resist. Some residue of the modern Buddhist movement may be found in the Central-South Region, and the statistics of 1930 may suggest where the movement is strongest. The following is a breakdown, by provinces, of the number of Buddhist believers then claimed by the China Buddhist Association. The second column gives the number of modern type Buddhist organizations such as schools, translation and publication societies, missionary societies,

14. Chan, op. cit., pp. 1-62, points out that 537 Buddhist works and 58 Buddhist periodicals were published in the years 1920-35 in all parts of China. Most of the periodicals were short-lived.

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etc.[15]

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Honan	4,070	3
Hupeh	286,900	17
Hunan	64,100	15
Kiangsi	26,700	10
Kwangtung	154,550	28
Kwangsi	2,730	17

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Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped, publishing houses closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[16] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders. Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists to reform and defend their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and Party. In May 1951, a Party central committeeman outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in

15. Shen-pao Nien-chien [The Shen-pao Yearbook] 1933, p. T2.

16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

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217 presented to me by the editor-in-chief, Mr. Hsu, who was kind enough later
36 to clear up several difficult points for me.

Huailing Hsien is much older than the city of Anking. In ancient times it was a part of a district called Wan or Hsu. The name Huailing first appears in the Chin Dynasty (about 380 A. D.) was continued under the T'ang, and is still used. Wan, or Wan Chiang, survives as the literary name of Anhui.

217 The Huailing Hsien Chih gives accounts of 123 temples within the city,
361 varying in length from one or two sentences to several pages. I have found
346 two temples not listed, which were evidently too recent to be included in
776 the last edition, which appeared in 1915. The complete list is given in Appendix 3. It does not include public halls (Kung T'an), charitable organizations, or the provincial and trade gild halls, with one exception, the Fukien Gild, which is entered as the T'ien Hou Kung. (Temple of the Queen of Heaven.) All these contain chapels or altars. Moreover, all permanent homes have their ancestral tablets with an altar before them, and a picture or image of the Kitchen-God. Images of the God of Wealth and of trade gods are found in shops and in the meeting places of business organizations, but none of these are classed by the Chinese as temples. The numerous shrines to Earth-Gods (T'u Ti), which are scattered throughout the city and still more over the country districts, are mentioned but not enumerated.

217 Practically all the temples of the city were destroyed in 1854 by the
346 T'aip'ings, who were opposed to image worship, or during the ensuing years
776 of rebellion. When peace was restored the temples were rebuilt, but on a
794 less pretentious scale. Nearly every temple history records that the place was destroyed by fire in the 3rd year of Hsien Feng and rebuilt during the reign of T'ung Chih. Thirteen temples are listed which do not now exist, and thirteen more are now put to various non-religious uses, from schools to carpenter shops. The halls of the three state temples, which are only used twice a year, are usually occupied by spinners of silk thread. There does not seem to be anything particularly sacred about a temple building or

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site, but when such a place is sold, the images or tablets are carried to another temple. Most of these places are in a sad state of disrepair, but there are signs of better times coming, and there are a number of temples which have recently been repaired or redecorated. Many have schools connected with them, where a general primary education is given by underpaid teachers of the old style, but so far as I know the schools of Buddhist temples, taught by monks, are for neophytes and are strictly religious.

Twelve names are used for temples in the Huailing Hsien Chih. An analysis of them is given in Appendix 1. The numbers are as follows : An, 40 temples ; Tsi, 38 ; Miao, 21 ; Tzi, 9 ; T'an, 4 ; Kung, 4 ; Tien, 2 ; T'a, 2 ; Ch'an Ling, 2; Koh, 1; Tao Yuen, 1 ; Kuan, 1. However, such statistics are not of much value, for the names are often interchangeable. Of the four more commonly used names, Miao, which is the generic term, is usually translated as temple, Tsi or Tsi T'an as ancestral temple, Tzi as monastery, and An as nunnery. But these terms are very misleading. A nunnery is nearly always called An, but some An have monks instead of nuns. An ancestral temple is always called Tsi, but many Tsi are not devoted to ancestors. Miao may be applied to almost any religious building. A Tzi is always a monastery, but some monasteries are not called Tzi. Of the remaining words, T'an means an altar, Tien a hall used for religious purposes, T'a is the name for a pagoda, Ch'an Ling is a literary name used by Buddhists in preference to Tzi at times, and Koh, Kung, Kuan and Tao Yuen seem to be Taoist terms. Tzi and An almost always indicate Buddhism. However, Richard in his Calendar of the Gods, says that nine words, Tzi, An, Miao, Yuen, T'an, the word for hall not altar, Kung, Koh and Tien, may be applied to Buddhist temples. He gives the number of principal Buddhist temples in Anhui as forty-one. While the word principal is vague, the impression is certainly erroneous, for there are more than that number of large temples at the holy mountain of Chiu Hua Shan alone. His estimate is based on a book called the Tsan Hsioh Chih Ching, published in 1826, which obviously is not of much value today. The *Encyclopedia Sinica* (Temples), says that Kuan and Kung are Taoist names. It also gives two Sanscrit expressions

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reproduced with Chinese characters, Lan Jo and Tsen Chia Lan Lin, but these do not occur in Anking. It is interesting that Richard gives only two temples to the province of Kiang Si, which is the stronghold of Taoism. The word T'an, used by the Christians for their churches, does not occur in the Huailing Hsien Chih applied to temples.

A Chinese temple must not be thought of as a kind of church, standing in the midst of a group of people who look upon it as their religious home. These temples are not built for worship by large bodies of people at one time. The number of worshippers at a service is very small, except at the large Buddhist monasteries, where there are a hundred or so monks, and I have never seen a temple which could accomodate a good sized congregation in its main hall. The idea is Hebrew rather than Greek or Christian ; there are courtyards in which the multitude may wait while the priests sacrifice before the shrine within. And it must be remembered that a Chinese does not belong to a temple and regularly attend worship there, as a Christian belongs to his parish church, for there is nothing in the Three Religions corresponding to the Christian congregation.

It is true that there appear to be exceptions to this rule, but they are not really so. Members of a trade gild hold their meetings before an altar and bow to the image or tablet upon it, but the meeting place is not necessarily considered a temple. All the members of a clan have a share in the family temple, but they never meet there for worship in a body. There is nothing in Chinese worship like the singing of hymns, the joining in prayer or in offerings, which can be seen regularly in any Christian church, where everyone present takes part in the service. Another western feature lacking is the sermon, for while Buddhists occasionally hold services for the purpose of enlightening the laity, what they say or read is mainly unintelligible to their hearers because of the strange vocabulary, filled with technical terms and Sanscrit transliterations. Anyone may go to a temple and sacrifice on his own account, but the services are shared in only by the priests.

The institution of the middle-man, so common in Chinese business and social life, appears in religion as well. A man hires monks to say masses for

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his dead, the head of the clan sacrifices for his family, and the official reports to the god for the people he represents, ascribing the common good or evil to his own virtue or sin. A layman may pay for a religious celebration, but he plays a very passive part in it himself. There are, of course, no Confucian monks or nuns, but their place is taken by an official or his substitute.

In the temples are posted lists of contributors. Some time ago a temple in Anking came under the suspicion of the authorities for some reason, so the officials simply took the list of contributors and confiscated their land. But such lists do not usually mean more than that the persons named have performed good works by giving to the temple.

There seem to be four essentials in the worship at any of these temples: prayer, the kowtow or the bow (Chu Kung), incense and candles. Besides these there may be music, chanting and reading of sacred texts, offerings of various kinds, firecrackers and noises of considerable variety, and processions which may include the carrying of sacred images, banners, pictures and lanterns. There are also a number of observances connected with religion, like the special cakes in honor of the moon eaten at the Mid-Autumn Festival and the dragon processions on the 15th of the 1st month, which will not be described here because they are not connected with temples. The protest of the great Han Yu, in 819, over the bone of Buddha, seems to have been effective, for the Chinese do not appear interested in relics.

However, there is one custom which must be mentioned in this connection. Buddhist monks who have attained considerable sanctity are buried in jars of pottery, packed in charcoal made from a variety of willow, which has a preservative effect. After three years the body is removed, gilded and placed on an altar, where it is worshipped mainly by the curious and the ignorant. I know one Buddhist lady, noted for her piety, who refused to visit such a Ruh Shen, though the temple was next her home. Sometimes these "Dried Monks" are considered to be incarnations of boddhisattvas, and they usually perform miracles.

The musical instruments used in temples are divided by the Chinese into eight classes. They are given by Mrs. Richard (Chinese Music), as instru-

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Yellow paper, called Huang Piao, which is not the same paper used in presenting petitions. 782

Any kind of food, cooked or uncooked, chickens, goats, pigs and oxen, but not, so far as I know, water-buffalos or horses. Animals are not offered in Buddhist temples. I do not know of any instance in Anking where the offering was cooked or burnt before the altar. Wine and tea are also offered, and sometimes the blood of the sacrificed animals.

Wooden placques bearing complimentary inscriptions, called Pien or Pien Eh. Sometimes the inscriptions have four characters, sometimes the one word Ling, or efficiency. The latter are thank offerings for answered prayer, the former are gifts to the god by persons of distinction.

Pairs of scrolls called Tui Tzi, or opposites, each containing the same number of characters, each character balancing the one in the same position on the other scroll. Sometimes these inscriptions are written on the columns of the hall, or on opposite sides of the altar.

A rich man who wishes to acquire merit may present sacrificial vessels, streamers with texts written on them, ornamental lamps or any temple fixture. He may redecorate the hall or even erect a new building with an endowment provided.

There are a number of things which might be mistaken for offerings. 794
A box is usually found beside the altar into which worshippers drop money. 788
This is not offered to the god, however, but is a payment to the priests for incense or for striking gongs and other services. Worshippers sometimes 563
place a piece of straw upon the altar to remind the god of their prayer, but it is not a gift. I would class firecrackers with music as an observance in honor of the god but not an offering in the strict sense. The monks post on the walls the lists of benefactors, schedules of services and tables showing the cost of various masses and other ceremonies. They also give religious names to children on request, write these on red paper, and paste them on the columns. This last is mainly a Buddhist practice.

There does not seem to be anything which could be called a work of 778
art in the Anking temples, though there may be manuscripts and pictures 532

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792 The temples and their priests are supported from various sources. Some
794 are endowed and receive income from land. Some depend upon certain
778 individuals and families. Many monks engage in business, selling charms, souvenirs, and conducting tea-houses and hotels. Masses for the dead and special services are very lucrative, as is organized begging, which is from house to house and not done on the street. For improvements the monks have to depend upon sporadic gifts. For instance, a few years ago one of the river steamers sank following a collision and three hundred lives were lost. A wealthy Anking man had intended to take that boat, but was warned in a dream and so saved his life. In gratitude he gave several thousand dollars to the Yin Chiang Tzi, which was used to repair the pagoda. The three state temples are state supported, but repairs are made by contributions to the K'ung Chiao Huei (Confucian Society), to which all the officials belong. The cost of the sacrifices there is paid from the taxes, but no other temples receive public funds, at least not officially. It may be said that no temples except those belonging to particular families rely upon periodic contributions from a regular clientele, as do most Christian churches. The
358 result is that the fortunes of individual temples vary considerably. Pro-
778 bably as a result of political conditions, the appearance and general upkeep of Chinese temples, at least in the provinces, cannot compare with those of the shrines of Japan. Grass grows in the courts, dust clouds the gilded images, tiles are missing from the roofs and the huge columns are devoured by ants, yet even in decay their beauty is impressive, especially under the moonlight, which brings back the appearance of former splendour.

778 Certain temples are used as meeting places by trade gilds, the image of
441 the trade god being placed on a side altar. A list of the gods worshipped by
776 different trades is given in Appendix 6. As far I have discovered them, the following temples are used by gilds.

Temple of the Fire God (Ho Shen Miao), — Fortune Tellers'and Barbers' Gilds.

Temple of the God of Wealth, (Tsai Shen Miao), — Money Changers'and Cloth Merchants' Gilds.

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but one syllable, a number of other names used by different people and under different circumstances; a name used by his parents and grandparents, one used by his familiar friends, a school name, one for formal use as on visiting cards, and so on. The name which is placed on the tablet in the ancestral temple is called the P'u Ming. Each clan possesses a poem containing a certain number of syllables, and each one of these syllables or characters is used in turn to identify a generation of the family, so that the whole cycle will be in the neighborhood of twenty generations. The temple name consists of two characters, usually the first the name of the generation and the second that of the individual. The surname is not put on the tablet, where it would be superfluous, but it appears over the main entrance to the temple. Clan records go back for hundreds and sometimes thousands of years, as in the family of Confucius, and since a man may have children after he has become a grand-father, it is not unusual to have representatives of all the generations of the family cycle alive at the same time. The head of the clan is called the Hu Chen, and the representatives of different branches of the family, who meet for the annual sacrifice, are called Fang Chang or Wen Si.

At ordinary times the temple is cared for by poor members of the clan who live on the premises. They light candles on the altar on the 1st and 15th of each month, and keep incense always burning before the tables. This incense is usually made in a conical spiral about two feet high and when lighted at one end it will burn for a long time, suspended from a hook above the altar. Food is not formally offered to the ancestors in the temple except at the Ta Chi, or great sacrifice.

The ritual of this sacrifice is of great antiquity, and is the foundation of the sacrifices to great men, to Confucius, and of the emperor to heaven and earth, all of which have the same general form. In fact, it may be called the essence of Confucian religion, and educated Chinese indignantly deny that it has any taint of Buddhism or Taoism. It will be worth while, then, to give an account of it in some detail.

The great sacrifice (Ta Chi), is distinguished from the small sacrifice

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of the present day probably do not long antedate the T'angs, at least in their modern form.

A few of these cults will be treated in the last section of this paper. The officials sacrificed in their official capacity to the City-God, the Lung Wang, the Pa Chia and others at appropriate times as part of their recognized duty, and this worship might be said to be a part of the state religion. I have not included it in this section, however, because the temples of the local gods do not belong to the state, nor is the government responsible for their support, and so I prefer to treat them separately.

But there are two cults which may be said to belong peculiarly to the state and its officials, past, present and expectant. Their temples are found in every Chinese city, and in Anking they are supported by the public money, not, as other temples, by private subscriptions. These two cults correspond to the civil and military divisions of the government. In these temples the great national leaders of peace and war are worshipped twice a year, in the spring and fall, by the highest civil and military official, respectively, of the district. The dates of these sacrifices appear to be the only religious events, if they are to be called religious, which are given on the ordinary Chinese calendar at present.

These state temples do not usually contain images, but this rule is not absolute, especially in the case of the God of War. The objects worshipped are the name tablets, called P'ai Wei, which are very like those found in ancestral temples. It is usual to consider these temples as belonging to the men who occupy the chief place in them, but it would be better to consider these men rather as the supreme representatives of the virtues expected in the officials of the two branches of the government, virtues which have been shared, in lesser degree, by many others whose tablets are also worshipped. The temples are known as the Wen Miao and the Wu Miao, or the civil and military temples. The place of honor in the first is given to Confucius; in the second, it is divided between Kuan Kung and Yo Fei.

It must be remembered that the worship of Confucius and Kuan Kung is not confined to the state temples. This is especially true of the latter,

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whose temples are found everywhere, and who is worshipped as a god of literature and riches (Dore, vol. VI, art. 4) besides being the patron saint of several provinces.

Moreover, the positions of Confucius and Kuan Kung are different. The former is usually considered as the perfect man, while the latter is a god in full standing, and usually has the word Ti, the sign of divinity, added to his name. Both were historical characters and the facts of their lives are well known.

In a brief account it is not possible to go into the list of names commemorated in the Wen Miao, nor is it necessary, for it has already been done by Watters, but we can consider the cult of Confucius as a part of the state religion in the provinces, even though most of the facts are familiar.

A. — Confucius and the Wen Miao.

Confucius is the form in which the early Jesuits latinized the words K'ung Fu Tzi, or K'ung the Master. His personal name was Ch'iu, but being taboo, it is never pronounced, while in writing the character a stroke is omitted. He was born in 551 B. C. and died in 479 B. C. In his day the Chou dynasty was declining and the power lay with the feudal lords. Confucius became a minister to the prince of his native state, Lu, which would form a part of the modern Shangtung. His reforms and the uprightness of his character soon forced his resignation, and he spent the rest of his life wandering from state to state with his disciples, and editing the works which have become the classics of China. It does not seem that he himself wrote more than the Spring and Autumn Annals and some appendices to the Book of Changes. There are many accounts of his life in English. The few facts I have given are taken from Giles *(Biog. Dict.*, K'ung Chiu).

As to the position Confucius holds in the hearts of his countrymen, the words of the great historian, Szi Ma Ch'ien[1], are as true today as when they were written eighteen centuries ago.

" Countless are the princes and prophets that the world has seen in its

[1] [Errata: should be Szi-ma. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116.--Analyst]

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BUDDHIST TEMPLES

It is probable that no eastern religion has been more thoroughly investigated by western scholars than Buddhism, and a volume might be devoted merely to a bibliography upon the subject. Yet the literature in English and other European languages is nothing compared to the volumes of Chinese books, not to mention those in other Asiatic tongues. The work which might be done in the investigation of Buddhism is endless. In this brief essay, then, I shall do no more than give a rough sketch of the two representative Buddhist temples in Anking, which will enable me to mention the most characteristic gods of the Chinese form of Mahayana Buddhism.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih mentions forty-five temples which may be definitely classified as Buddhist because in them are the images of unmistakably Hindu gods. For it should be remembered that while Chinese Buddhism will place the image of almost any deity in its temples, the place of honor is always reserved for the foreign gods. I do not think it correct to call any temple Buddhist which does not have Hindu deities present, even though Buddhist monks are employed as caretakers, as is frequently the case in non-Buddhist temples. These forty-five temples are nearly all refered to as Tzi or An, and as nearly as I can discover, twenty-five are under the care of monks (Ho Shan), and twenty of nuns (Ni Ku). Although the number of temples is large, only two are of any size, the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An. The others are small, one-room buildings, often very difficult to

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find, mixed up with non-Buddhist cults like those of " Earth Gods ", frequently the property of some wealthy family who use the place as a sort of private chapel. It is likely that the solitary monk or nun in charge of one of these little shrines is supported largely by the offerings of women praying for sons, for men are infrequent visitors. I know a widow who invested her savings by buying a small temple as a business proposition, living thereafter on the income from incense, oil and gifts. The chief income of the monks in the larger temples appears to come from the masses for the dead, and in the great halls are monthly schedules and appointments for such services, with a price list. When a man of moderate means will pay five or six hundred dollars for the funeral of a parent or grandparent, a good part of which would go to the monks, it can be seen that the pious work is remunerative. Nuns may also read the sutras and say masses, but the usual custom is to send for monks. It is frequently said by foreigners that the monks are ignorant and have little or no education. This is true, perhaps, of the majority, but at the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An monasteries there are very well read and cultivated men. A monk at the former place estimated that there are about one hundred and fifteen Ho Shan in Anking, and I should guess that there are not more than thirty Ni Ku.

Ho Shan have secured control of a number of temples whose gods are distinctly not Buddhist, and have erected their own shrines behind the main halls. Among these are the T'eh Fu An, the Yo Wang Miao and the Ho Shen Miao. These temples will be considered in the sixth class, and here we will mention only the two chief Buddhist monasteries

The Yin Chiang Tzi is a large temple and monastery, containing about eighty monks, located on the north bank of the Yangtze a little outside the East Gate of the city, and contains within its walls the beautiful pagoda familiar to all who travel between Hankow and Shanghai. The monastery belongs to the Ch'an, or Meditative School, and is therefore typical of the majority of Buddhist temples in China.

It should be born in mind, however, that these schools are not distinct or opposed in the way that Protestantism and Catholicism are, for instance.

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the deliberate adoption to a Buddhist divinity of the functions of the Chinese goddess who gave sons (Sung Tzi Liang Liang), thus appealing to one of the chief desires of all Chinese. And the prominence of Ti Tsang is due to a similar attraction, for the most fundamental Chinese virtue is filial piety, which includes the worship of ancestors, and the duty of descendants toward them. This duty is accomplished in an attractive way through the Yu Lan Huei. The custom also prevents injury from these spirits.

The authorities I have quoted consider the festival to be of Buddhist origin, but Clennell *(Historical Development of Religion in China*, p. 105), says that the custom is indigenous and merely adopted by the early Buddhists. I am inclined to agree with him. The sacrifices to wandering spirits are mentioned in the Li Chi. The festival is not held in Buddhist temples, but in homes, where tables bearing incense, candles, fruit and tea are placed in the main entrances. The monks are very active saying masses in public halls, for which they are well paid by philanthropic organizations, but the temples themselves are dark. This is especialy noticeable at the Yin Chiang Tzi, which would be an admirable scene for the rite because it fronts on the river. When this absence of ceremony in the temples is combined with the great hold the observance has on all Chinese, most of whom do not go into a Buddhist temple once a year, that in the homes it is not accompanied by any Buddhist practice nor does it require the presence of monks, and that when the monks do go out, it is not to homes, but to public halls where they are invited by corporations, it seems reasonable to suppose that this is another instance where Buddhism has fastened upon some native custom it did not originate, and made the practice its own. However, it is not a matter upon which to be dogmatic. The Hindu custom is also a home rite.

The Yu Lan Huei is the most beautiful of Chinese festivals, and in 1923 I was privileged to see it under particularly favorable circumstances. The cities along the Yangtze River have a number of life saving organizations (Chiu Sen Chu), which provide public ferries, save drowning men when possible, rescue their bodies for burial when nothing else can be done, distribute coffins and medicine to the poor, and engage in other admirable charities.

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I was the guest of the head of such an organization, and watched the festival from their building beside the river.

In a hall on the first floor, twenty-one monks, in groups of seven, were chanting litanies. Three superiors, wearing the lotus hats of Bodhisattvas, read the Ti Tsang Sutra and fed the hungry ghosts. Dipping their long-nailed, slender fingers into a cup, they sprinkled the water on the air with their third fingers, filling the parched, ghostly mouths. Their deliberate gestures were indescribably graceful, with a studied reverence in every movement. With downcast eyes and faces without expression they sat as Bodhisattvas, unconscious of the crowd that observed them so narrowly, whispering and shuffling behind the backs of the Ho Shan.

The monks wore red cloaks fastened under the right shoulder, over gray body garments. The light from the oil lamps shone on the bare spots of their closely clipped heads, where the burning incense had made scars at the time of their initiation, and the perspiration ran down their foreheads and cheeks. Behind them boys walked up and down swinging large fans. The long table down the center of the room and the three small ones before the celebrants were covered with candles, incense burners and gilded images brought from the Yin Chiang Tzi, and each monk had a book from which he read his nasal chants. At times an attendant handed one of the celebrants a cup of tea, which he drank holding his right arm before his face, the long sleeves making an effectual screen.

At one side was a table with a picture of a Buddha on it, and before the picture, candles and bowls of vegetables. If I watched long enough, I was informed by a bystander, I would see the Buddha step down from the picture and eat the food. He had already devoured several bowls. I regret to say that I did not watch long enough to observe this remarkable performance.

We climbed the rickety stair to a balcony, where the chanting sounded more mellow and pleasant. Below us was a garden beside the river, a garden filled with flowers that added their scent to the incense, and trees whose branches reached high above our heads. A stone path led down the terraces to the water gate, through which we could see the flames of piles of paper

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Chen Yi Kuan,
Ch'ing Shu Kuan,
San Yuen Kuan,
Tzi Hsiao Kuan.

The Tung Yo, the god of the Pi Hsia Kung, is said to govern the entire province, but there seems to be some dispute concerning the validity of this claim, and some scoffers even confine his activities to the East Gate suburb.

The society consists entirely of men, and has between five and six hundred members in Huai Ling Hsien. The card of my informant, Li, said that he was the head of the provincial organization, with the title, Chen Hui Chang, but he told me that there was little connection between the various branches of the church, even within the province. I had supposed Kiangsi to be the stronghold of Taoism, but he said it was fully as developed in Anhui. The Anking organization is in communication with the T'ien Tsi at Lung Hu Shan, and recently raised 7,000 dollars to defray the expenses of a month's visit by the latter to attend some festivities held by the governor of Anhui in Anking. I regret very much that I did not know at the time that he was in Anking. He seems to travel a good deal, whether for pleasure or in the interests of his organization I cannot say. It is unlikely that a man with so much to lose and so little to gain would meddle with Chinese politics in their present muddy condition, and there does not seem to be anything secret about the society.

If a man wishes to join the Taoist order, he " Enters the Gate ", through a sort of apprenticeship to a member. As the Taoists' chief means of support is the saying of masses for the dead, it is necessary that they should read, and so the length of the novitiate varies. If the candidate is literate, he studies for three years, but if not, the term is six, and the course includes the Confucian classics. All the members of the society are called Tao Szi, which is usually translated as monk, but this is very misleading, as they may marry and have their own homes. No one not a member is considered a Taoist.

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These inscriptions show very well the ethical character of Taoism. The following memorial, from a stone tablet in the temple courtyard, gives an idea how such places were built, and the method of rewarding contributors.

A Stone Tablet in the Tung Yo Miao

" Temples are the shelters of gods. The Tung Yo Miao was first built in the T'ang Dynasty and served as a safeguard for the East Gate and for the whole province. The temple was finely decorated, but after the war (the T'aip'ing Rebellion), it was in ruins, and only the foundations were left. In the reign of T'ung Chih, our forefathers (twenty two names are given), rebuilt the main hall and the porches. Later two more buildings were added, and the Pi Hsia Kung (Hall of the Blue Sky). In the reign of Kuang Hsu, twenty four persons (the names are given), gathered contributions from the merchants and gentry of the city for the erection of a stage for theatricals, two porches and an image of the god, all according to the ancient arrangement. Although the work was never completed, the result was impressive. It was originally intended that the names of the contributors should be carved upon a stone monument, but as funds were not available it could not be done. The building gradually decayed under the weather. A later attempt to raise money was made, resulting in some repairs. The redecorations are now complete, and therefore it is our duty to have the names of the former contributors carved on a monument. Their deeds and their difficulties in this work will be remembered for ever. So we have made this record.

" The 11th moon of the 24th year of Kuang Hsu " (1899 A. D.).

I have been to the Tung Yo Miao many times, but I have never yet seen anyone worshipping in it, except on the birthday.

The other Taoist temple, the Yiu Shen Kuan, is a small, one room affair, containing no images, but tablets of the Taoist trinity. Formerly its dimensions were more imposing. Yiu Shen means " Holy Protector ". The following paragraphs from the Hsien Chih are interesting :

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YIU SHEN KUAN.

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" This temple is west of the Pien Ming store house, inside the Little South Gate. The site was originally occupied by a public hall, the Chen Wu Tien, which was surrounded by thirty pine trees. During the reign of Yung Lo (about 1415 A. D.), a Taoist monk named Wan Yi Wu came to Anking from the West River (Yi Wu means One-Nothing). He was well educated and a poet. Three officials, Yang Ch'i Meng, Han Yi and Sung Yu Yu, used to meet with him to write poetry, and they treated him as a gentlemen and an equal. Because of this connection Yi Wu was able to ask these officials to build a temple for him, and they agreed. During the Chung Yuen Festival (the 15th of the 1st month), Yi Wu organized a Tao Ch'an (a series of religious services), and within three days more than 30,000 Tan of rice were given by the people as contributions toward the new temple. First Yi Wu built a T'ung Ming Tien, (a hall), with an image of the god in its center and thirty two T'ien Shen along the walls on both sides. The P'eng Lai Hsuen (an open pavilion), was built behind the Tien. On its completion Yi Wu went to Nanking and asked the Fu Ma, a high official, to write a Pien Eh for the hall. The Fu Ma not only did this, but gave curtains for the god, and an altar carved with dragons.

" When Yi Wu died his disciple, Yu Tao Meh, continued to live in the temple. He made an image of Yuen Ti and placed it in the center of the Chen Wu Tien, which he repaired, and placed thunder gods on either side. A man named Wei Shan wrote a record.

" In the 2nd year of K'ang Hsi (1664 A. D.),a Taoist monk, Hu Ch'ao Kuo, contributed money and rebuilt the temple, which had fallen into decay. Four years later the governor and the Chih Fu rebuilt the Kuan. A Taoist monk named Ch'en Chen Ch'iang, who had found gold under the Tien, returned it to the owner without accepting any reward. "

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gions and cults. In the disorder that followed the Hans and during the T'ang dynasty (618-907), many foreign influences drifted into China. It was the period of the Buddhist pilgrims, of the coming of the Nestorians and the Muhammedans, a time of great mingling of faiths, whose history does not seem to have adequately studied by Europeans. The Sung and Yuen dynasties which followed also saw great developments in religion, such as the metamorphosis of Kuanyin and the vicisitudes of Taoism. Many of the most characteristic features of Chinese religion began during these centuries. For instance, the burning of paper money and imitation valuables instead of burying real wealth in the graves began shortly before the T'angs (DE GROOT, Bk. I, p. 712). Under the Sungs the dead were burned, a most striking change from ancient custom (YULE, MARCO POLO, Index, *Cremation*).

But what interests us most at present was the growth of certain cults, not new, but largely made over and developed, which have had great influence upon Chinese religion ever since. In this last section, then, I will give some documents, mostly taken from the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, or from inscriptions and temple histories, concerning a few of these cults. I believe that they may show foreign influence and that the records of the T'angs and Sungs might shed much light upon them, and upon the history of Chinese religion generally.

The gods of these cults often receive recognition from the state, on the old principle, already mentioned, that local officials should worship local gods, and on recommendation by the local authorities these gods are rewarded by the central government, or punished if they do not produce desired results. Chavannes (*le T'ai Chan*, p. 385), says that the T'ang emperors were the first to give princely titles to these gods. The temples naturally record favorable instances, but they are not the only cases of official notice. A year or so ago, at Nanling Hsien during a drought, a god was publicly tried by the magistrate for neglect of duty, condemned, left in the hot sun to see how he liked it himself, and finally, after enduring every kind of insult, was broken in pieces. Many similar instances will occur to students of religion. No Chinese would dream of doing such a thing to the tablet of Confucius, or to

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those of his own ancestors, which shows as well as anything could the different status of the various kinds of spirits.

This difference in treatment, and the fact that, so far as I know, the great sacrifice is never offered in these temples, seems an indication of their relatively recent origin and possibly of foreign influence. The robes and head dresses of these gods vary, and indicate their rank. When one of the images is consecrated, the maker places a small dot on the forehead or in the pupils of the eyes with the blood of a cock. Buddhists also do this to their gods. Sometimes openings are made in the backs of the images and models of various organs, usually the heart or the liver, are placed there, but I do not think this is required. The images are usually made of plaster or cement spread upon a wooden framework, and are painted or gilded.

Monks are employed as caretakers in these temples, and sometimes get entire control of them, but Buddhist gods do not appear in the hall of the patron diety. The ordinary worship is little more than a call, such as officials and friends pay each other at the New Year, though sometimes a report or a prayer is made. The roofs of these temples may or may not be curved, and the entrance may face in any direction.

My choice among these cults, for I cannot be exhaustive, is determined by their prominence in Anking and the accessibility of knowledge concerning them there. I have chosen the City-God, the Dragon King, the Fire God, the God Who Drives away Locusts, and the God of Medicine.

The Ch'eng Huang Miao (Temple of the City-God).

The words Ch'eng Huang mean wall and moat, respectively, and together signify the city as a whole. The functions of the Ch'en Huang are two fold. First, he is the personification of the city, and as a god he occupies in the spirit world the same place held by the chief official of the city in this. He is the fortune and tutelary deity of the town. During the Manchu dynasty, the officials visited the temple on the 1st and 15th of each month, reporting what had happened in the city and burning incense, though there does not

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seem to have been a regular service; Prayers were offered for any object concerning the welfare of the city, the worshippers being the officials or a committee of the gentry. Private individuals pray to the god for almost anything, but especially for recovery from sickness, which leads us to the second of this functions.

As the deity of the city, he reports the conduct of its inhabitants after death. His temple represents a yamen, with officials, secretaries and lictors in attendance on the god. When the time has come for a man to die, the god sends one of his servants, who summons the spirit to the judgment hall, after which he is rewarded or punished according to ideas probably borrowed from Buddhism. As an especial honor, the god himself may appear to a man in a dream, announcing coming death.

Although the City-Gods are local deities at the present time, there may have been an earlier stage when the City-God was a general divinity, for so far as I know, he had traditionally the same personal name, Chi, in all places, his birthday falls on the same date in most places and the same stories are told about him. Now, however, those holding the office seem to be deified local officials.

The cult affords an interesting comparison with that of a Greek god. Tyche was originally a general goddess controlling the affairs of states, a form of the Great Mother (J.-E. HARRISON, *Prolegomend to Greek Religion*, p. 270), and is mentioned by Pindar (a, 12). In the Alexandrine period, a new conception of the city arose in the Greek world. Athens had been an independent city-state under the guardianship of Athene, but Alexandria and Antioch were cities as parts of the greater state, and Tyche became the personification of this idea. She was usually shown wearing the mural crown and holding a cornucopia of plenty, and in this guise still appears in the representations of European and American towns. She was affected by Orphics, and was connected with fate (M. P. NILSSON, *Greek Religion*, p. 284). Constantine made the Tyche of Constantinople Christian by the simple expedient of putting a cross on her head. In Rome there seem to have been several personified abstractions who filled a similar place, the genius of the city, the

[Errata: should be his. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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Fortunae Populi Romani, and the Dea Roma (*Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, City-God).

The Chinese like to trace all their institutions back to the days of Yao, Shun and Yu, and attempt to find the worship of the City-God in the most ancient times. Mr. Feng Han Yi, the librarian of the University of Amoy, has sent me a number of selections from a book in his possession called the Ch'un Ming Meng Yu Lu, concerning the City-God. I will give a translation of them at the end of this section. In characteristic fashion, the author discovers the cult flourishing in the earliest days, but according to Mr. Feng, the effort rests on a questionable interpretation of ambiguous characters in the Li Ki and the Ch'un Ch'iu. What is quite evident from these records is that the terms Ch'eng Huang do not occur in the classics, and that no authentic record of the cult is found until after the Three Kingdoms (265). The first account of one of these gods appears to have been written about the time of the K'ai Yuen period of the T'ang dynasty (742), by a man named Li Yang Ping, and other references show the cult to have been prevalent at that time. The first temple is said to have been built in Wuhu, in the province of Anhui, about 230, although it is not mentioned in the history of Wu. None of these records give any intimations of foreign influence.

Chinese scholars in Anking whom I have questioned think that the god is descended from the Hsieh Chi or Gods of the Land and Grain, frequently mentioned in the classics, and there does seem to be a connection between the City-God and the Earth Gods, for there is an image called the King of the Earth Gods (T'u Ti Wang), in the Ch'en Huang Miao. But the Hsieh Chi were probably local divinities of the country, very much like the Earth Gods of the present. The character Hsieh, composed of earth and to divine, seems to confirm this. However, this view may be correct.

There are still other elements in the cult. The painting of the faces of men acting as attendents of the god may be Hindu, or Tibetan, although the Tibetans use masks. Wang Kuo Wei, a Chinese authority on the drama, says that the first recorded instance of masks in China was subsequent to the Han dynasty. Besides this, the ten hells seen in the courtyard of every

1 [Errata: should be Chi. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 --Analyst]

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City-God temple are undoubtedly Buddhist, and Taoist fancy has woven the god into its romances, as in the story of the god's banishment, which I will give shortly. The Horse-Face and Ox-Head servants are Buddhist.

There are two city-god temples in Anking, devoted to the Fu and Hsien gods, for the Chinese cult, like the Grecian, is naturally connected with the state and follows its political divisions. The only difference I can find between the temples, other than the districts each god represents, is that the Fu temple is built on land given by the Huang family, who take care of the premises and get what income there is from the sale of oil, incense and candles, while the Hsien temple is in charge of a solitary Buddhist monk. It is the Fu Temple I will describe.

The whole enclosure is about 250 feet long by 100 feet wide, and faces west because it fronts on a north and south street. Two life size stone lions flank the entrance, and on the other side of the street is a large spirit wall. There is a big courtyard surrounded by buildings, with the main hall at the east end, opposite the gate. At the sides of the doorway are two rooms, a public reading room on the north and a guest hall on the south, while above the entrance, facing the court, is a stage on which theatricals were formerly given " To amuse the god ".

Wang, Kuo Wei thinks that the Chinese theater developed from the religions dances of the ancient exorcists called Wu. Other Chinese authorities place the beginnings of the Chinese drama in the later T'ang period, about 720, though perhaps the greatest, Ma Tuan Lin, who died about 1300, dates them as early as 581 (*Encyl. of Religion and Ethics*, Drama, Chinese). The Yin and Yang symbol is conspicuous in the center of the stage, and there are decorations of gilded wooden dragons.

The cloisters at the sides of the court are occupied by the ten hells of Yenlo, five on a side, with a wooden lattice before them through which one may look and be edified. These hells have often been described by foreigners, and perhaps the best account is that of Giles in " Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio ". They include the hill of knives, the mortar, the snakes, the slicing, and other tortures of the damned, with small human figures in

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346 778 794 realistic agonies and ferocious demons looking on. There are judges presiding over each hell, and at the far end of the cloisters are a number of images outside the lattice, including Yenlo himself, the King of the Earth Gods and his consort, and some hellish officials. These hells are said to be found in temples to Ti Tsang — Doré gives instances — but I have not observed it. The Anking temple lacks the famous inscription usually found in City-God temples, so direct and to the point; " Ni Yei Lai Liao " (You also will come here).

346 778 794 796 Inside the main hall is a magnificent central altar, on which are duplicate images of the Ch'eng Huang, one behind and above the other. The first is used in processions, while the second always remains upon the altar. I am sorry that I am unable to offer any explanation of this duplication, for it is not done with other deities, with the exception of the Fire God, andt he latter's images differ, while those of the City-God are exactly alike. Other gods are carried in procession, but do not find it necessary to be in two places at the same time. The two gods, who are the same god, wear ancient robes and headgear indicating the Ch'en Huang's rank as Wang. The faces are dark, like those of Hindus, but the features are Chinese. It is said that gold and jewels are put into the paint for the faces. Whether these images have the openings in which gold or silver hearts are placed, I do not know. The images are somewhat smaller than life size, and receive worship together as equals. On one side of the altar is a secretary with a pen and record, and on the other, an officer, while on the table itself are boards of the kind borne before officials in the manner of the Roman fasces. Against the walls are a number of underlings of the god.

Behind this hall is another, once used as a dormitory for monks, probably Taoist, but now a primary school. It contains images of the Sung Tzi Niang Niang, the Goddess of Small Pox, and the wife of the City-God (Ch'eng Huang Niang Niang). The hall seems to be used only by women.

Following the revolution the temple was cleared of images, and when I first saw it in 1916, it was still in a ruinous state, but the cult has revived and the temple now approaches its former splendour. The money was raised by

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committee of gentry, who sent a subscription list through the city, everyone contributing.

Beggars sleep in the courtyard, and poor people about to die have themselves carried there, for it is considered fortunate to pass away in the presence of the god. Divination is practiced in the temple, gambling and fortune telling flourish in the courtyard, and the place attracts the worst element in the city. There seems more anti-foreign feeling than in any other temple. I found it very difficult to get information myself, and I was obliged to ask Chinese friends to inquire for me. However, no objection was made to my visiting the temple, even on the god's birthday. The present building dates from 1864, but an older one was destroyed by the T'aip'ings. On the whole, the place is kept in good repair, and the bells have just been repainted.

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The god is regarded as a colleague by the officials. He can be commanded by a superior, like the provincial governor, and requested by his equals and inferiors. A favorable response to prayer is made more probable by fasting, and the god is considered very prompt and efficient in his answers. Under the republic, the officials have ceased to worship there, but it is possible the custom will be revived. The god is held strictly responsible for the fortune of the city, and is rewarded according to his works.

Many pay reverence to the god at the New Year, but his great festival is the birthday, which is the 15th of the 5th month. Then the temple enclosure is crowded with hundreds of people all day and night, the altar is brilliant with huge candles, and the air thick with incense. The absence of the officials takes away from the old impressiveness, but still the effect is extremely gay and exciting. The crowds jostle and talk, firecrackers, gongs, drums and tamtams swell the din, and everything is wild and barbaric. Nothing could be more different from the quiet and refinement of a Confucian sacrifice.

At this festival, men in costume act as the attendants of the god. This service is usually performed by youths who desire some favour, such as the recovery of a parent from sickness, or as the fulfilment of a vow made while they themselves were ill. For this purpose they form an association, and appear in relays of a quarter of an hour, so that there are always six men in

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attendance. These men are dressed as "Ghosts" (Kuei), with boards across their shoulders under their clothes, and fantastic gowns and headdresses. But the most peculiar feature of their make up is the painting of their faces, which resemble grotesque masks, terrifying or humorous. White is the predominating colour, but red, black, blue and yellow are also used, and bits of gold or silver paper are stuck on the skin.

In the Chinese theater, the make ups have significance. For instance, traitors like Tsao Tsao and Ch'in Kuei paint their faces white, warriors like Chang Fei are usually black, while some characters such as K'ung Ming do not use paint at all. But I cannot find that the different colours used by the ghosts have any such significance, or that there are any rules for their use. Possibly there may be some connection between the fact that both ghosts and actors do this, and the stages in the temples. At any rate, the faces are painted with the greatest care. The ghosts come on in pairs, carrying lictor's wands, which they strike together, and after kowtowing, place themselves one on either side of the altar, standing without a sound or a movement until they are relieved. In their mouths they carry metal bits, or copper cash with tassels attached, which hang down from their lips. This may be traceable to the old Chinese custom of compelling the bearers of coffins to be gagged (De Groot, Bk. I, p. 188). I have also seen ghosts at the birthday celebration of the Tung Yo, so perhaps the custom is Taoist.

The most characteristic feature of the cult is the tour of the city by the god, or in Anking, by the two gods, for both the Fu and Hsien deities are carried out on the same day. Until about ten years before the founding of the republic, the god was carried in procession only on his birthday and in times of great danger and calamity, but from that time until the revolution, the procession was held three times a year, on the 3rd of the 3rd month, the 15th of the 7th month, and the 1st of the 10th month, all days of special sacrifice to spirits. These parades drew out the rougher element from the city and the surrounding country districts, causing so much disorder that they were forbidden by the police from the revolution until 1923, when the tour was revived on the 15th of the 7th month, the day of the Yu Lan Huei,

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and even then permission was not granted until the night before. Yet the feeling of the people was so strong in favour of the custom, that with only a few hours preparation, the festival was as splendid as ever.

The tour commenced about nine in the morning and did not get back to the temple until after midnight, for the god visited every street whose inhabitants had made known, their desire to welcome him in the proper manner. Every shop and home had a table in the doorway with candles and incense, and everyone set off firecrackers in the god's honor. The entire city went on a holiday, and the streets were full of beggars, blind fortune tellers, gamblers, story tellers and acrobats. Men walked about on stilts very cleverly, making jokes and gestures that would not bear description, while from every quarter the associations of ghosts, in full regalia, came trooping to the temple. The parade took more than an hour to pass my point of observation. There were hundreds of ghosts like the wildest nightmare visions, their faces painted and lined with every colour under heaven, their robes bright with embroidered silks, beads and tinsel glittering in their high head gear and banners streaming from their shoulders like wings. Soldiers with gags in their mouths, lictors bearing staffs of office, secretaries, giants and dwarfs passed two by two down the narrow, crowded street, until finally, to a continuous roar of firecrackers exploding under the feet of the marching men, and a deafening clash of cymbals and drums, came the god in the sedan chair of an official, with curtains drawn at the sides for fear pictures might be taken. I caught a glimpse of his dark, impassive face, and he was gone. It was one o'clock when he returned to his temple. The courtyard was packed with men, waiting in absolute silence, and as the god entered, all fell on their knees. The welfare of the city was secure. The City-God is described by Grube *(Religion und Kultus der Chinesen*, p. 119, *f)*, and by de Groot *(les Fêtes annuelles à Emoui*, vol. II, p. 586, *f)*.

The following paragraphs from the Ch'un Ming Meng Yu Lu were sent to me by Mr. Feng Han Yi, of Amoy.

" The name of the City-God occurs in the Yi (the Book of Changes), but when people began to sacrifice to the god I do not know. The *Li Ki* says,

[1 Errata: should be Chi. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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" The emperor sacrificed to the eight spirits, one of whom was Yao ". Seven of them were the spirits of Shui Yung. Hsui means Huang (moat), and Yung means Ch'eng (wall). This shows the origin of the cult. The Ch'un Ch'iu says, " When the state of Chen was in distress, the people prayed in the temple of Sri Yung, and in Sung under similar circumstances, a horse was sacrificed to Sri Yung. These instances prove the existence of the cult. The character Yung is not used at present, but was common in ancient times. From this we may suppose that sacrifices to the City-God began in the time of Yao " (about 2300 B. C.).

" The first Ch'eng Huang Miao was built in Wuhu about 230 by Ch'ih Wu, the emperor of Wu. The temple was on the east of the yamen of the Fu Chih of T'aip'ing Fu. The precedent was set by Ch'ih Wu, and as time passed the temple was decorated by the people.

" During the period K'ai Yuen of the T'ang dynasty (about 742), a scholar named Li Yang Ping wrote the history of the City-God of Tan T'u Hsien, therefore the cult must have arisen before that time. This is also proved by a stone tablet in Wei Chou with an inscription written by Li Peh (the famous poet, about 750), which refers to a temple of the City-God. When Tu Mu was appointed magistrate of Huang Chou, Han Yu magistrate of Ch'ao Chou, and Hsin Ling magistrate of Hsu Chou, they all sacrificed to the City-Gods. This shows the existence of the cult in many places " (Han Yu was exiled in 803, GILES, *Biog. Dict.*, Han Yu).

" In ancient times people wrote concerning the City-God, saying that he was the spirit of the wall and moat surrounding the city. Everything must have a spirit. Mountains have mountain spirits, rivers have river spirits, and valleys have their spirits also. The people gather in one place and build a city, with high walls and deep moats, to protect themselves. There must be a god who secretely protects them. In this way the conception of the City-God arose ".

There are various traditions as to the man who became the City-God, probably all worthless. Some say he was Chi Hsin, a loyal follower of the founder of the Han dynasty, Lu Pan (202-195 B. C.), who saved his leader

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at the cost of his own life, for which the emperor canonized him as the City-God. Others say the cult arose from a picture which T'ang T'ai Tsung (627-649), placed at the entrance of his palace as an example to officials. The following stories were also sent to me by Mr. Feng. 794 1176

The Story of Mo Yung Liang, from the History of Northern Ch'i (545-573).

" The governor of Ch'in Ho, named Yo, sent Mo Yung Liang to be the official of Yin Ch'en. Shortly after his arrival, he was attacked by a general named T'ien Jen Yo, by land and water. T'ien blocked the river with reeds, cutting the city off from the rest of the country. The city stood alone, and the people were afraid, but Mo encouraged them. In the city was a temple, which tradition says was devoted to the City-God. Mo led the people to pray there, and shortly after the reeds were broken and carried away by a tempest. T'ien than used chains to close the channel, but after Mo had prayed again the chains broke. A third time the city was delivered and the people rejoiced, attributing their salvation to the City-God. "

The Story of Su Han, from the History of Sung (About 470).

" When Su Han was the governor of Tsi Chou, the place was attacked by barbarians (Man). They made their way into the city and Su, with thirty-six members of his family, committed suicide by leaping into the fire. Some time after Su's death the people of Chao wished to attack Tsi Chou, but on their way they were pursued by a great army coming from the north, shouting with a loud noise, " We are coming to avenge Su Han. " The men of Chao were afraid and fled. So the people of Tzi built a temple in honor of Su Han calling him the City-God. "

The following essay, taken from the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, was written by Yu Chung Hsuen Kung (died, 1354), an official of Hsu (an ancient name for the district in which Anking is located), during the Yuen dynasty. It was originally inscribed on a stone tablet, which has been destroyed, and a second monument copied from it is also gone.

" In ancient times, City-Gods were seldom mentioned. The custom of worshipping them began in the T'ang dynasty, until now, from the em-

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peror to the inhabitants of small villages, everyone builds temples to these gods.

" It seems that the people and the god of Hsu are more prosperous than those of other places. Formerly, when Hsu was a part of Tsu, the people worshipped devils, but now they sacrifice only to the City-God, and they are especially devoted in times of famine, plague and flood. Offerings of animals, incense, flags and " Fan " are frequently brought to the temple.

" Tradition says that the 15th day of the 5th month is the birthday of the god, and on that day he is carried through all the streets of the city. The people, rich and poor, leave their houses and crowd the streets, which are full of amusements, the playing of flutes and the beating of drums. Before the procession of the god the people pray, and afterwards they rejoice, the festival lasting for three days.

" The god of Hsu is more prosperous than the god of any other place. During the time of Chih Chen (1333-1368), rebels from Yin Chou and Lu An caused trouble in the Yangtse valley and destroyed eighteen cities. Hsu was quite close to the center of the disorder and was in great danger, so many thousands of people prayed to the City-God, and used the Pu to determine his will (The Pu are pieces of wood used in divinition). Whenever they fought with the rebels in accordance with the instructions of the god they won, and did not lose once. Therefore Hsu suffered less than any other district. In order to show their gratitude to the god, the people contributed money to decorate his temple, and petitioned that he might be advanced in rank. The Chun Shou laid the matter before the T'ai Ch'an and the Po Szi (titles of officials), and they decided to promote the god to the rank of Wang. In the 4th month of the 14th year of Chih Chen (1347), the decree came. The governor and the people sacrificed cattle to the god, and an official announcement was made, as follows ;

" We, the men of Hsu, love our parents and die for them when necessary. We were kind and filial, and so the god appeared to us ".

" Ming Shih (poems), were written on a monument before the temple, to show forever their gratitude and the power of the god.

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Gods are necessary for the people.
They are mighty and just,
Helping the virtuous.
When the rebels neared Hsu
The natives fought with them,
Winning many battles.
The men of Hsu prayed not for themselves,
But for their fathers, the emperor, and their elders.
Therefore the god saved them.
How can the people forget his kindness?
Now he has received deserved honor.
Surely with his protection
There will be no more trouble.

The following essay, also taken from the Hsien Chih, was written in the time of Ch'ing Tao Kuang (1821-1850).

" When Ming T'ai Tsu ascended the throne (1367), and killed Ch'en Yiu Liang beside the P'o Yang lake, the god of this city helped him. In the second year of his reign he ordered that sacrifices be made to the god, saying, " His wisdom is beyond speech ". He also gave the god the title of Chien Ch'a Szi Ming Wei Ling Kung (The mighty duke who judges and controls the people).

" In the year Chi Mao rebels sailed up the Yangtse and reached Anking. They besieged the city for eighteen days, but on the nineteenth they saw a horseman in red armour who rode around the city wall, and realizing it was the god, they ran away and their leader was killed. All agreed that this was an appearance ot the City-God. The T'ai Shou decorated the temple and built five halls with a dormitory behind them, connected by porches. The T'ung Chih wrote the record.

In the year Yi Yiu of Shun Chih (1646), the temple was destroyed (during the Manchu conquest), but later it was rebuilt, and Wu Pan Tzi wrote the record, which said.

" The god appeared to a monk in a dream, telling him to carry the image

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of the god out of the temple the next day. The monk obeyed, and that day the temple was burned to the ground. All marvelled at this ". The next year the temple was rebuilt.

" In the year Jen Tzi of K'ang Hsi, four neighboring districts were overrun by locusts. The Hsieh Chen and the Chung Ch'en prayed to the god, and the locusts disappeared. A few years later they redecorated the temple, sacrificing an ox, and erected a monument with this inscription ."

An Imperial Decree, from a stone tablet in the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao.

A Report of the Board of Rites to the Emperor Kuang Hsu.

" On the 13th day of the 4th month in the 13th year of Kuang Hsu (1888), the Board of Rites received an imperial decree authorizing it to confer Pien Eh and titles upon gods who had been efficient (Ling), in helping the people. In the city of Anking, of the province of Anhui, the Fu and Hsien City-Gods, and the god of Hsiu Ling Hsien are famous for their effectiveness. During the rebellion (T'aip'ing), the rebels attacked those cities, and it was due to the power of the City-Gods that order was restored. When the districts suffered from famine, plague or flood, the people prayed, and their prayers were always answered. The prayers were so effective that the emperor commanded a member of the Hanlin Academy to write a Pien Eh for each city. They were given to Ch'en Yi, who presented them to the officials of the two cities.

" The emperor has commanded the Board of Rites to decide the rank of the gods. The command must be obeyed.

" The Board hastened to follow its instructions, and presented Pien Eh to different cities. The report from the officials of Anking said that under the Yuen dynasty (1280-1368), the City-God of Anking Fu was given the title of Hsien Chung Ling Yiu Wang (The king who showed his power, loyalty and efficacy in the protection of the people). The City-God of San K'ou Chen (the god of Huai Ling Hsien), received the title of Li Peh (awesome marquis). During the reign of Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821), the god of San K'ou Chen was removed to Anking. When there was drought or excessive rain the people prayed to this god, and they were always answered. The temple was

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destroyed by the T'aip'ings, but it was rebuilt during the reign of T'ung Chih (1862-1875). At first the rebels stayed in the northern part of the province of Hupeh, and the districts of Ch'ien Shan and Taihu were in terror. The governor, named Chu, made an agreement (Yo), with the god, that they two would be responsible for the city, and soon the robbers retired. (This is not a very accurate statement, for Anking became a T'aip'ing stronghold.) It seemed that some invisible force must have protected the city. During the winter of the 11th year of Kuang Hsu (1886), no snow had fallen, so the Fu and Hsien officials prayed earnestly in the presence of the god, and snow soon fell. In time of plague the people prayed, and the plague disappeared.

" The City-God of Hsiu Ling Hsien in former times was given the title, Hsien Yiu Peh (the marquis who has shown protection). At the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368), the title Fu Teh Kuang Chi was added (Blessedness, virtue and wide salvation). This god also answered the prayers of the people In the reign, of Hsien Feng (1851-1862), the rebels occupied Hsiu Ling, where the soldiers of the government attacked them. At night the rebels saw fierce lights behind the temple, which seemed connected with the noise of the cannon. This caused the robbers to fear that the enemy was in the city and they fled, many being killed in the confusion. After the war came the plague, and the whole city prayed in the temple. The monks received revelations from the god, commanding that certain medicines be used, and many sick were cured. During the 5th and 6th months of the 12th year of Kuang Hsu (1887), there was no rain. The crops dried up and turned yellow. After the officials and the people had prayed together before the god, the rain came and famine was averted. In gratitude to the god the officials reported this to the emperor, that a title might be given to him.

" The Board of Rites examined the facts and concluded that these were gods who could protect and save the people, for they had accomplished great good. The governor of Anhui then petitioned that titles be given to the gods, and the emperor ordered the Board to decide.

" The City-God of Anking, together with the gods of Huai Ling and Hsiu Ling, have been reported by the present governor as having helped

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former officials to protect the cities. The robbers saw mysterious lights behind the temple, and the gods revealed to their monks ways of curing the people. It is impossible definitely to prove these things, but that the prayers of the people were answered is evident. So in accord with the request of the governor of Anhui, we ask your majesty to order your ministers to consider what titles shall be awarded, and submit them for your majesty's approval. We will then forward them to the governor.

" We pray that your majesty will approve this report. "

Directions from the Board of Rites to the governor of Anhui.

" The governor of Anhui reported to the emperor that titles should be given to the gods of Anking Fu and Huai Ling Hsien. On the 11th day of the inter-callary 4th month in the 13th year of Kuang Hsu, the Board of Rites received an imperial decree empowering it to decide the request. They then asked the ministers to consider what titles and ranks should be given. It was decided that the present title of the City-God of Anking Fu, Hsien Chung Ling Yiu Wang, should have two characters prefixed to it, Tsang Hua (to help civilization). The emperor himself approved the words by making vermillion circles beside them. So we forward these directions to you, and we also request you to receive suitably the two following Pien Eh, and present them to the proper temples.

" To the Fu god of Anking, Wan Chiang Hsi Yiu (the guardian and protector of Anhui).

" To the Hsien god of Huai Ling, Fu P'i Mei Ch'eng (blessedness sheltering the city of Anking).

" In the winter of the 18th year of Kuang Hsu, the gentry and the people carved these words on this monument, with feelings of gratitude and respect. "

The Marriage of the Fu Ch'eng Huang, from the Temple History.

" Tradition says that in a certain summer of the reign of Kuang Hsu, the City-God of Anking married a daughter of the Chi family, of Ta T'ung. The girl's father had been an official and was a Buddhist. One day during the 4th month, his wife and daughter went to worship in the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao in Anking. That night the girl dreamed that a man wearing dragon

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● 394 M6 robes and the belt and shoes of an official, with a head-dress like the emperor, opened the door of her room and stood by her bed. After looking at her a long time in silence, he went away. This was repeated for several nights. She then told her mother, who was greatly surprised, and directed her, if the man came again, to sew a red thread into his gown. That night when the man appeared, the girl did as she had been told. The next day the mother and daughter went to different temples, and at length discovered the thread on the gown of the Fu Ch'eng Huang. The girl looked carefully at the face of the god, and saw that he was the man of her vision.

" They returned home, and that night the man again appeared, laughed, and said, " We are destined to marry and the time is near. Prepare yourself. " Then he vanished. The next morning the girl was sick and told what had happened to her mother. Having received her mother's consent to the marriage, she died. Her mother sent all the things needed by a bride to the temple, and even now the bed, quilts and curtain may be seen there. They are shown to the public on the birthday of the lady. "

The marriage of the Hsien god occurred in 1919 under similar circumstances, the girl and her family being well known in Anking.

The Banishment of the Hsien Ch'eng Huang, from a Temple History.

" Tradition says that a man named Liu, a Chuan Yuen, reported to the Yu Huang (Taoist), and caused the banishment of the City-God. This Liu had a street named after him, the Chuan Yuen Fu. His personal name was Yueh Tsai, and he was a native of Huai Ling, of a poor family. While a student he was badly treated by the other boys because of his poverty, and the blame for everything was laid on him. One day a boy lost some valuable ink, and search was in vain. Someone accused Liu of the theft, and in order to discover the truth, all went to the City-God temple, and standing before the god, prayed, " We ask, that you will show us who is guilty of this theft by causing him to fall down on leaving the temple. " Now it happened that the day was hot, and someone had thrown a melon rind on the pavement. As Liu came from the temple he stepped on the rind and fell. Liu, who knew he was innocent, in anger wrote a report to the Yu Huang and burnt

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it. The message was picked up by a wandering spirit called Erh Yiu Shen, who presented it to the Yu Huang, and that deity, knowing that Liu was destined to become a Chuan Yuen, immediately issued a decree banishing the City-God 1115 li from his city for three years. The penitent god then appeared in a dream to the head of the school and testified to Liu's innocence. The teacher told Liu, who again petitioned the Yu Huang, this time that the god might be forgiven, and the distance was reduced to 15 li. So the City-God had a temple at San K'ou Chen, because that place was just 15 li from the city. Anyone who does not believe this may go to San K'ou Chen and see the temple. "

Pien Eh and Tui Tzi in the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao.

Pien Eh. 1. " Good and evil are clearly separated. "
2. " Grace spreading far and near. "
3. " The blessed god of Anhui. "
4. " A thousand years are as one moment. " (On the stage.)
There are ten Ling.

Tui Tzi.

1. *a)* " The wicked will be destroyed. They are not yet punished, but they will not escape. It is the virtue of their ancestors which preserves them. When that is exhausted their end will come. "

b) " The righteous will prosper. They are not happy as yet, for they are hindered by the sins of their ancestors. But when the former guilt is wiped away, they will be rewarded. "

2. *a)* " Although you obey neither the laws nor the gods, yet when the mirror of sin is placed before you, will you have courage then ?

b) " I can remit your punishment and forgive you. But you must drop the knife, cease to harm, and turn your head.

3. *a)* " Struggle not with fortune. If you wish to know effect and cause, observe the present. " (A Taoist sentiment.)

b) " Let your heart be your master. Ask not about heaven and hell, but listen to what has been arranged. " (From Chuang Tzi.)

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4. *a)* " The word (Tao), of god knows the future. The god has always revealed his will, from the time of our ancestors till now. "

b) " The god's title has always been high. I (the presenter of the Tui Tzi), hope that the people will be blessed with prosperous years. "

There is a fifth Tui Tzi, which I could not translate into decent English.

The Lung Wang (Dragon King).

The dragon is found everywhere in Chinese art, and is mentioned from the most ancient times. The five clawed dragon was the symbol of the emperor and appeared on the national flag until the revolution of 1911. There is a wealth of Chinese material about it, and references in our literature are not lacking.

But when one approaches the cult of the Dragon King a good deal of confusion is found, and the various elements are not easy to disentangle. There are many dragons and dragon kings of various kinds, while numerous legends tell of the transformation of men into these monsters. And while the dragon may be an apotheosis of the crocodiles found in Chinese rivers, the cult can change very easily into snake worship. for snakes are often considered manifestations of the Dragon King and have been worshipped in temples, not as snakes, I believe, but as forms of the nobler god, since snakes as a class are not deemed holy. This serpent worship is seldom seen, while the cult of the Lung Wang is universal. At least, there are Dragon Kings everyrwhere, though they are essentially local gods. To this indigenous dragon worship has been added a strong Buddhist element, which itself has much older Hindu sources, the worship of the Nagas, or snake kings.

Into this thorny subject I shall not enter. Doré deals with it in two places ; vol. V, p. 677 *f.*, where he treats the dragons as if they were indigenous, and vol. VII, p. 409 *f.*, where he considers them as an element of Buddhism. As usual, he is very rich in material, but lacking in systematic arrangement, and I do not feel at all clear after reading him. However, he gives a large

1 [Errata: should be everywhere. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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[778] The deity as he exists in Anking is purely a rain god. At the Festival of Lanterns on the 15th of the 1st month, paper dragons lighted from within by candles, are born through the streets as an offering for rain to help the spring crops, and their visit to a house insures good luck during the year. In time of drought, images of dragons — not the temple image of the god — are carried in procession, and if this is not effective, the god is carried into the hot sun and left to dry. He is usually represented as a man, or merely by a tablet.

Unfortunately, the Anking temple of this god is now used as a police station, the images have been taken away, and I found it impossible to get information there. However, I will give three essays, taken from the Hsien Chih, which throw interesting lights on this cult. The first refers to the Anking temple, and the god is probably the Ngao Kwang mentioned by Doré (vol. VII, p. 414*f.*). The second and third concern the god of a spring on the Great Dragon Mountain. Doré (vol. VII, p. 417), also mentions the story of Chang and his nine sons.

Hayes (*The Chinese Dragon*, p. 9), identifies eight varieties of dragons, some extremely rare, of which the Dragon Kings are only one kind. Doré classifies them by color. Chinese dragons are not such heavy villains as their western prototypes. " Although troublesome, they may be tamed ". One of Ernest Brahmah's delightful stories gives a very good idea of the Chinese attitude towards these interesting creatures.

LUNG WANG MIAO. (*Temple of the King of the Dragons.*) 1

" The officials and the citizens worship the Lung Wang in different places. Formerly there was a temple outside the North Gate, but during the reign of Shun Chih (about 1650 A. D.), the magistrate Li Szi Chen removed it to outside the South Gate. A citizen, Jen Chin, made the following record :

" From history we learn that in ancient times the emperor sacrificed

1 [Errata: should be the. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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to God (Shang Ti), while the officials worshipped the gods of mountains and rivers within their jurisdiction. Temples were never built in honor of the Lung (Probably plural). Although dragons are troublesome, they may be tamed. In the book of Chou Yi (the Yi Ching), it is said that dragons were often seen flying across the sky, presaging wind and rain. Since Heaven (T'ien), sends floods and famines the officials must sacrifice according to the Yin Li. (The ceremonies of the Shang Dynasty.) Wan (the district of Anking), has a dragon mountain with a spring, and in times of famine the worship of the dragon was always effective. In the time of Ming T'ai Tsu (1367-1398 A. D.), the Lung Wang was called the Hsuen Chi Lung Wang (The Dragon King Who Saves the People) ".

" There are different places for worshipping the Lung Wang. The temple outside the North Gate was formerly used for sacrifices but after the war it was in ruins, and as a result there were frequent famines and droughts. The T'ai Shou, Li Kung, walked to the remains of the temple and prayed earnestly to the god. His request was granted, so in order to show their gratitude the people rebuilt the temple and kept the spring in good condition. As the temple near the North Gate was too small for the god, a new one was built outside the South Gate, with three great halls and three gateways. The walls were painted and the offerings became more splendid. In the time of Ch'ien Lung the temple was removed to inside the North Gate. "

LUNG SHAN LIN CH'IU. *(The Efficient Spring of the Dragon Mt.)*

" Thirty li north of Anking there is a Dragon Mountain, on whose western slope lies a spring, clear and deep, which has never failed. It flows down the mountain and waters several thousand mo of good land. In time of drought and famine the people pray there, and their prayers are always heard. Sometimes remarkable clouds are seen above the spring and around the top of the mountain. The custom of worshipping there began long ago, and in the time of Ming T'ai Tsu (about 1380 A. D.), the rank of T'ien Chin Hsuen Chi Lung Wang was conferred upon the god by the emperor. During

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the administration of Ch'u Hou Chieh as T'ai Hsou there was a great famine. The T'ai Shou prayed beside the spring and suddenly rain began to fall. Ch'u was grateful and said, " How can I forget the goodness of the people and the mercy of the mountain. " So he and two other officials contributed part of their salaries to rebuild the temple which had formerly stood by the spring. The image of the god was made pleasing and impressive, while the halls and porch were highly decorated. The T'ai Shou reported all this to the capitol. The Yu Szi, K'o Chung, and the Chin Szi, Wei Yung, asked me, Wang Ao, to make a record for the stone monument which would commemmorate these things.

" It is well that a Dragon Mountain should be located within the district of Hsu (Anking), and it would be a good thing for us to know when and how the mountain (i. e. the god), first appeared. Some say the people of the place believed that a dragon lived in the spring, because it was deep and dark, as if a god dwelt below, but others claim this is not the cause. In the old days, Chang Lu Szi, who was once the T'ai Hsou of Hsuen Chou, fought with Chen Ch'ang Yuen between Huai and Fei. Afterwards he and his nine sons were transformed into dragons and lived in this spring. We cannot judge of the truth of this tradition.

" Those mountains, forests, rivers, valleys, and hills that can produce clouds which send forth wind and rain are called gods, and the officials of the different districts usually make sacrifices to those mountains and rivers. For this reason the officials and the people of Hsu ought to worship the Dragon Mountain. Therefore I wrote this record on the monument, and I also composed the following poem, which was chanted at the sacrifices :

There is a dragon mountain in Hsu
With a spring which waters the fields.
On the mountain is the spring
And upon the hillsides are tilled fields.
From the earliest ages the men of Hsu have received
this help,
In time of trouble all heads are turned toward
the mountain.

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High above the hills float the clouds,
And within them is a spirit who changes their shapes
continually.
The people wondered who the spirit was
Until they found that it was the Lung Wang.
Hence they rebuilt the temple,
So that sacrifices might be made for a thousand years.
These sacrifices are still continued
And the people reap the reward.

The following essay was written by the governor (Hsin Fu) of Anhuei, T'ao Hsu, in the fourth year of Tao Kuang, 1824 A. D.

" Thirty li from the city of Wan there is a mountain, whose grandeur is like a painted screen with panels set at angles. It is called the Great Dragon Mountain. On the western side in a valley between two peaks lies a spring, called the Well of Heaven, and here the Dragon God lives. In the time of Ming T'ai Tsu (about 1380 A. D.), the god was given the rank of T'ien Chin Hsun Chi, and the present dynasty calls him by the same title. To the west of the spring there is a temple (Tsi), which was first built in the time of Ming Ch'en Hua (1465 A. D.), and down to the present dynasty it was kept in good repair. Whenever a famine came the people would pray there.

" In the summer of the 4th year of Tao Kuang, it did not rain for a long time. I prayed and my prayer was answered, but the rain was not sufficient, so on the 11th day of the 6th month, I and my officials went to the side of the spring and prayed. The sun was very hot. I rode from Chi Hsien Kuan for more than ten li before I arrived at the Tsi, which was in ruins. Among the tiles and the moss I knelt in prayer. Afterward I walked about three li to the stone of the White Horse on the top of the mountain, where I made obeisance to the Well of Heaven. As I went back to the city the air was full of dust and my heart was heavy, for what could I do for the people when the god was angry with me. But just as I reached the city rain began to fall, and by the time I reached my yamen, the roads were full of mud. The people

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were pleased. I myself had travelled seventy li under the hot sun before the rain came, and I had also sent two officials to pray. The rain came as an echo to our prayers. Alas, the people suffered from flood last year and they had not yet fully recovered. If this rain had not come, what would have happened? When I thought of this, I kept in mind the gift of the god. It is good for us to sacrifice to him, and so I chose a site to the right of the spring for his temple. On the top of a cliff I built a pavilion, naming it Fu Tseh (To give a benefit to the people), in order to show my gratitude to the god. Moreover, I asked my officials to give part of their salary towards the rebuilding of the temple. I also wrote a record on a monument, that the people might pray continually, and I composed the following poem.

So impressive is the Dragon Mountain,
So marvelous are its rocks and cliffs,
They rise high into the heaven.
The King of the Dragons abides there,
Wrapped in fog in the morning,
And in the evening clothed with smoke.
Here is the Well of Heaven
With its strange stone cliffs.
The water keeps down the dust.
When the god rests,
The water creatures rest also,
And the mouths of great fish are closed.
When the god goes forth,
There go with him the golden snake,
And the three legged, marble-like Chi.
In the morning he can traverse the rivers Huai and P'u,
And in the evening he rests by their side.
The servants of the god are many;
Their numbers are like a field of flax.
The spirits of the clouds stand in awe
When the god passes.

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The people hope for rain,
And the god hears their prayer.
He changes the river water into showers,
Which fill the vessels of the people.
The farmers also are glad,
For the crops are doubled at harvest.
Long life to the god;
May he receive continual sacrifices,
That the jars may be full of water,
And the barns rich with grain.

The Ho Shen (Fire God).

The festivals of the Fire God are held on the 15th of the 4th moon and the 22nd of the 6th moon. There are no peculiarities in the worship offered him.

He was a man named Lo, of the Chou Dynasty (about 1122 B. C.). The prime minister of Wu Wang, Chiang T'ai Kung, having been so directed by a Taoist divinity named Yuen Shih T'ien Tzen, appointed Lo as the Fire God. Another name given the god is Nan Yang Ta Ti (The Great God of the Southern Universe. Fire is usually associated with the south). The Fire God received commands from Shang Ti to examine the conduct of the people. If a man commits a crime the god punishes him and his family with fire and burns down their houses, in this way removing the guilt. The object of the worshippers is to persuade the god not to fire their houses.

" Everything we use and everything we eat is in some way indebted to fire, and they too are under the control of the god. The god, therefore, is closely connected with our daily life. During the time of Ch'in Shih Huang (220 B. C.), most books were destroyed, but a few survived, and tradition says they were saved by the power of the Fire God. Thus civilization owes much to him. "

There are four generals under the control of the Fire God, one with a fire-horse, another with a fire-dragon, the third with a fire-banner and the

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last with a bottle from which fire issues. Besides these the god has an army of 3000 fire-soldiers. When the god wishes to burn the houses of common people, he orders his fire-soldiers to do it, but when it is a matter of the mansions of officials, the generals are sent. When it is necessary to destroy the palace of the emperor the Fire God himself is the incendiary.

There are two images of the god, one as a civil official, the other as a warrior in armour and helmet. The official wears dragon robes and the crown of an emperor. Only the warrior image is carried in procession at the great festivals.

When worshippers come to the temple they must give a small sum, called incense money, to the one Buddhist monk who looks after the temple. Behind the hall of the Fire God is a small Buddhist temple without anything of distinction.

The temple is just inside the East Gate, on the south side. It was first built in the time of Ming Chen Teh (1506-1521 A. D.), and common people called it the Wan Chiang Kan Yin Tsi (Protector of the City). A former edition of the Hsien Chih said :

" During the Ming Dynasty, Wan (the district of Anking), was infested by robbers. To add to the misfortunes of the place, a part of the wall by the East Gate fell down just as the bandits were approaching. The magistrate arranged painted mats in such a way that from a distance it appeared as if the wall were intact. When the robbers approached they saw a man in red robes before the place where the mats had been placed, and they dared not advance further until the people had had opportunity to repair the wall. It was felt by all that the bandits had had a vision of the Fire God, so they built the temple and offered sacrifices.

" This temple was destroyed, and in the 8th year of Shun Chih (1652 A. D.), rebuilt by the officials. In the 13th year they received a decree ordering them to make sacrifices on the 23rd of the 6th month. In the 6th year of Ch'ien Lung (1742 A. D.), the governor and his officials again redecorated the temple, and after the T'ai P'ing Rebellion it was restored under T'ung Chih. The last restoration occurred during the reign of Kuang Hsu. "

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Giles gives a somewhat different account of the god (*Biog. Dict.*, Chu Jung). N. Hayes (a lecture in 1924), mentions a red raven with this god, but I have not observed it.

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PA CHIA MIAO (GOD OF THE EIGHT SPECIES OF CREATURES.)

The temple was on the east side of the pagoda. It was dedicated to the worship of Liu Meng, a general of the Sungs. In the 8th year of Yung Ch'en (1730 A. D.), the government commanded the citizens to build the temple and sacrifice a sheep and a pig. In the 52nd year of Ch'ien Lung (1788 A. D.), an official, the Pu Chen Szi, rebuilt it and wrote the following record :

" The worship of Liu Meng has spread over the whole country. The origin of the cult is obscure, and all we know is that tradition says he was the god who drove away the locusts. I recently discovered by reading the Yi An Tsa Lu, that this god was the dead general of the Sungs, Liu Meng, a generous and brave man, able in civil as well as in military affairs. He was once in command of the Yangtze Valley, and in the reign of Shao Hsin (1131-1163 A. D.), he was in high favour. At the battle of Hsun Ch'ang he defeated the enemy though his own forces were greatly inferior in numbers. No one could stand against him ; and his mere name struck terror. He could command thunder and lightning, clouds and wind, so that the driving away of locusts showed but a small part of his power. Why should we wonder at it? It is written in the Shih Ching (the Book of Poetry) :

" The power of driving away insects is possessed by the god of T'ien Tzu. " And the Li I says.

" Those who could prevent great trouble and disaster may be worshipped. "

Now Kung (Liu Meng), fought hard while he was alive, keeping inviolate the territory intrusted to him. After his death he used his power to protect the fields from insects. He was able to do this because his bravery and righteousness could not be exaggerated. With him a hundred years of duty is performed as easily and faithfully as the duty of a day by others.

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" Kung defended the Yangtze Valley, and so his power is greater there. Wan (Anking), formerly had a temple to the god outside the East Gate, where the Fan Szi (an official), sacrificed in the old times, but it had long been forsaken and the temple was falling down. I contributed money and commanded the city magistrate to rebuild it. On its completion the Chung Ch'en worshipped there with his officials, and in that very year the locusts of Hsu Ch'en were killed by the rain. From this the power and kindness of the god are apparent. The officials of this place must perform their duty and sacrifice frequently in this temple. For this reason I wrote the history of the god, that future generations might do him honor. "

In the 6th month of the 4th year of Tao Kuang (1824), Su Chou, Huai Yuen and Ling Pi (Hsien cities), reported trouble with locusts. The governor, T'ao Hsu, prayed before the god and after a few days it was reported from Su Chou that the locusts had been eaten by numerous frogs, while at Huai Yuen the pests were destroyed by birds. The locusts in Ling Pi gathered near the Ma Shan Lake, and the magistrate sent out 4000 ducks, who ate up the insects. The Chung Ch'en reported this, and the emperor presented a Pien Eh (a wooden placque bearing a complimentary inscription), on which he himself wrote. " Shen Tsang Pin Pin " (The god has equal rank with other gods, he is just, helping the people). In this way he thanked the god for his kindness. The Ta Szi Lung, a native of Tan T'u, wrote a Yo Fu (rhymed essay), recording these things. The governor enlarged the temple and wrote the following record :

" In ancient times the Pa Chia were the cats, tigers, and certain animals which eat things harmful to man, just as cats and tigers eat dogs and pigs. In old records, we find that during the reign of K'ai Yuen (713-741), white birds ate the locuts at Pei Chou, and at P'ing Chou magpies were useful in the same way. During the reign of Ch'ien Yu (910 A. D.), there was another variety of bird, which destroyed locusts at K'aifeng. These things are told in the Yiu Yang Tsa Tsu and the Han Shih Lu, as well as in other books, such as the Chin Szi *(History of the Golden Tartars)*. O Ch'eh wrote in the Ting Wu Shan Tan Szi Kao as follows :

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" When Hsiao Hsiu was at T'ai Chou and Yuen Ch'en Tsung (1294-1307 A. D.), was at Yang Chou, the locusts of those places were eaten by birds. Frogs also eat locusts and, therefore, it was forbidden to kill frogs. "

" Again, in the Ch'in Ting Yuen Chien Lei Han, it is written ' In the Yangtze Valley it is the custom to worship frogs, because they eat insects. Although the K'uen Ch'ung (lower animals), eat insects, it is not by their own power, but by the power of the god. If men cannot control cats and tigers, how can they direct the actions of birds, frogs and such creatures ? Surely it is the power of the god. '

" In the summer of the 4th year of Tao Kuang (1824 A. D.), the Fu official and the Taoyin gathered the inhabitants of Feng Yang to destroy the locusts, and when they were about to succeed new swarms appeared. In the seventh month I, the treasurer and the chief justice, prayed earnestly before Liu Meng. At that time Su Chou was covered with locusts and the Chih Chou had gathered the people to destroy the pests, when suddenly numberless frogs appeared and ate them up. Almost at the same moment thousands of birds gathered west of Huai Yuen, so that the locusts were destroyed in one day. After verifying this report I sent an account to the emperor. In reply his majesty wrote the words " Shen Tsan Pin Pin ", and asked me to put the inscription on a Pien Eh before the temple.

" Formerly the god had a temple (Tsi), by the river, outside the East Gate. It was built by decree in the 7th year of Yung Cheng (1729 A. D.). During the reign of Ch'ien Lung, the Fan Peh, Ch'en Pu Yiu, rebuilt it. Later it was destroyed by the river, and in the third year of Tao Kuang, I chose a place west of Shrai Tzi Ten, three li from the East Gate. The Yangtze ran close to the door and behind, the temple looked toward the Great Dragon Mountain, while small hills sheltered the sides. After I received the Pien from the emperor I enlarged the temple and improved the rites and ceremonies. Every year the Fan Szi worshipped there on the 13th of the 1st month, and the governor (Hsin Fu), with his officials sacrificed at Tung Chih (during the 11th month). This custom was begun during the Chou Dynasty (Before the 3rd century B. C.).

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" Because of the virtue of the emperor and the people, disaster comes but seldom, and even then it may be surmounted through the power of the gods. The *Book of Poetry* says, " There is a god of the fields who can prevent famine ". Although men also laboured to this end, they were inspired by the god, who thus showed his power. The coming of the birds and frogs was also caused by him. Since the god has revealed himself so clearly and fully, we must record his mercy that the memory of it may not be lost.

" In the Hsiang Lin Lu, it is said that the name of the god is Yün Chung, a native of Wu Ch'uan, who was appointed Chih Hui Szi near the end of the Yuen Dynasty. He often used his sword to drive away the locusts, who disappeared at once. Upon the downfall of the Yuen Dynasty he drowned himself (about 1360 A. D.), and afterwards became the Pa Chia. (If Liu Meng or Liu Yi was a man of the Sung Dynasty, his date would be about two hundred years before, 1137 A. D.).

" However, the Yi An Tsa Lu says, ' The Inspector General of the Yangtze and the Huai Valleys, Liu Yi, once drove away the locusts, and in the reign of Li Tsung (1224-1264 A. D.), was given the rank of Yang Wei Hou, T'ien Tsao Meng Chang '.

" Both traditions are to some extent true. The Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien agrees with the Hsiang Lin Lu, but the Pien before the temple is inscribed to Liu Meng Chang Chun. "

In the 16th year of Tao Kuang (1836 A. D.), the city magistrate, Yang Hsiao Ch'uen, worried so over a plague of locusts that he sickened and died. The governor reported this to the emperor, who issued a decree that Yang should receive sacrifices together with the Pa Chia.

The temple was destroyed by the T'ai P'ings and rebuilt again. In the 2nd year of the Republic (1913) the temple was destroyed by the people during a riot, and the next year the site was used for sacrifices to Heaven (T'ien). In the country the image of the Pa Chia is carried in procession to bless the fields.

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The Yo Wang (King of Medicine)

There are various gods of medicine and disease in China. The god of the Teh Fu An in Anking is Hua T'o, a physician of the Three Kingdoms, who offered to trepan the head of Tsao Tsao. Small shrines are often seen, both in the country and the city, to the Wu Ch'ang (Five Robbers), often mistaken for Earth Gods, who protect against the plague. The Goddess of Small Pox, the Goddess of Vaccination, the Goddess Who Helps Eye Diseases, and others, are very popular, and the Tung Yo Miao has an image of a God of Disease. These gods are always said to be beneficent, but I have my doubts about some of them. The principal cult of this kind in Anking is that of the Yo Wang, whose temple is the meeting place for physicians and dealers in drugs.

The practice of medicine in China and its relation to religion is an interesting subject, with which I am not competent to deal. Foreigners are apt to get a worse idea of Chinese medicine than is really the case, because there are no government regulations about entering the profession or practicing. There seem to be reputable and conscientious physicians, who pursue their profession honestly, in as able a manner and with as scientific a method as European physicians of two centuries ago. I doubt if anything they do is worse than blood letting, which used to be so common among us. But from these men there are various shades of practitioners, down to the ignorant Wu Yi, the spiritual descendants of the ancient exorcists. It is the methods of the latter which usually attract the foreigner's attention. For instance, one method of determining the correct medicine for a given disease is to carry an image of the god to the door of the sick man's house, where the bearers stand in a sort of trance, while the names of various medicines are read out. At the right name, they are seized by the god's spirit and lurch forward, and the medicine is promptly administered. It is obvious that such a practice would easily lend itself to fraud.

The Yo Wang Miao is in charge of several Buddhist monks, who have

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a very nice little temple of their own behind the main hall. The place is kept very clean add in good repair, for the guilds which support it contain intelligent and well-to-do men. As with all these gods, the birthday, on the 28th day of the 4th month, is the great festival. There do not seem to be any peculiar features in the worship, and I do not think the image of this god is carried from the temple, nor are gross customs connected with the cult. The following paragraphs are from a little book which seems to be a temple history.

"The Yo Wang was the son of a doctor, and his name was Sen Szi Miao. When he was young he studied and later practiced medicine. His father opened a medicine shop. It is said that a man once became sick and could not recover. At last he came to the shop for medicine. The father gave him some P'i Hsuan (arsenic), which is a fatal poison. The man took it home, boiled it, and the draught cured him.

" When the father died the son succeeded him. A man who thought of killing his son because of the latter's misbehaviour asked Sen for some poison. Sen, however, gave him Kan Tsao (liquorice root). The man carried it home, wondering how to administer it, when suddenly his glance fell upon a Lien Yu (fish), which had not yet been cooked. He then cooked the liquorice and the fish together and gave the mess to his son. Now the properties of liquorice and this kind of fish are opposite, and so in combination they cause death. When Sen heard of the death of the son he was greatly surprised. His father had cured a disease with poison and now he had caused death by giving a harmless herb. He was so affected that he decided to close his shop and burn everything in it. Having done this he travelled about the country, collecting medicines of various kinds, and keeping up his practice as a physician. In the mountains he once met a sick tiger. It had eaten a girl, and a pin from her dress stuck in its throat. Sen cured the animal, and in gratitude it followed him everywhere. Sen also healed a dragon and these two beasts are always represented before his image.

" The queen of T'ang Ming Huang (713-756), became sick and the emperor's physician could do nothing for her. Sen had a wire fastened round her wrist and felt her pulse by holding the other end in the next room. The

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method was later called Chin Hsien Tiao Meh (taking the pulse by using a golden wire), and as Sen was able to cure her the emperor appointed him Yo Chung Chih Wang (king of all medicine), and gave him a red robe. All this may be seen in the temple."

THE TSAI SHEN (GOD OF WEALTH).

This seems to be a new cult, at least in this section of the country. There are three Tsai Shen Miao in the city, all mean and small affairs, but on the 5th of the 1st month everyone sacrifices to the god, and his image is often found in shops, where it is sometimes mistaken for that of Maitreya. No reference was made to the Tsai Shen Miao in the earlier editions of the Huai Ling Hsien Chih, and in the latest one, after a brief notice, the explanation is made, that in former days the worshippers of this god were so few that it was not worth while mentioning him. Now it seems to be a growing and popular cult. Whether there is any connection with Kuvera, the Hindu god of wealth, I cannot say.

THE T'U TI (EARTH GODS).

My personal opinion is that these local tutelary divinities are among the oldest gods in China, but it is extremely difficult to find out much about them, whether from real ignorance or reluctance, I do not know. The district of an Earth God is the area of a circle about ten Li (three miles), in radius. At the center is the shrine, usually placed near a road. It is simply a small roofed altar, open in front, with crude images of the god and his wife, the whole about ten feet square. The offerings seem to be the poles (Fan), already mentioned, paper and meat. The extremely primitive character of these gods seems to be shown by the fact that they are offered uncooked flesh. Sacrifices are paid them on digging a grave, building a house, and at other times. Their power does not extend beyond their district. It is impossible to say that they belong to any religion except animism, and they are probably the descendents of the classical Hsieh Chi, though these had no images, and the altars were open to the sky.

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CONCLUSION

791 The gods, temples and cults discussed in this paper show the religion of the city, and on the whole, of the more intelligent classes. The religion of the country folk is probably much what it was thousands of years ago, the worship of ghosts and devils (Kuei), of ancestors, and of local tutelary gods. In the main, it is animism, pure and simple. I do not think that either the religion or the social structure of Chinese villages in the real country has ever been adequately investigated, but it must wait for Chinese scholars, since no foreigner could approach the subject with any chance of success.

795 I have not attempted to discuss what De Groot calls the sects, because they have no temples. These sects combine elements of different cults with revelations, visions, fasting, the approaching advent of some god like Maitreya, speaking with tongues, and other familiar phenomena. Sometimes they are secret societies, with a political tinge, and come into conflict with the authorities.

794 However, there has been one interesting attempt at conscious syncretism, with which I will close my paper. It was the effort of a Buddhist monk, K'i Sung, who lived during the reign of Sung Hwang Yu (1049-1053), to combine in one cult the worship of Confucius, Buddha and Laotzi. The resultant faith, its popularity and eventual suppression by the authorities, are des-

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74 cribed by Parker *(Studies in Chinese Religion*, p. 292 *f)*. The final decree against it seems to have been issued in 1837. I will give an essay from the Hsien Chih on one of these " Three Faith Chapels ", and an emperial edict against them, taken from Parker. In the San Shen An, Kuan Ti was substituted for Confucius, but it is evidently the same cult.

SHAN SHEN AN.

(The Temple of the Tree Holy Ones — Kuanti, Buddha, Laotzi.)

The temple is to the left of the yamen of the Civil Governor. Originally there was only a Kuan Shen Tien, but in the 9th year of K'ang Hsi (1671 A. D.), the governor (An Ch'a Szi), added a Buddhist hall and quarters for the monks. The following essay, or record (Chi), was written by the governor himself, Chung Kuo Chen. In the 2nd year of Tao Kuang (1823), another governor, Huei Hsien, repaired it.

" I have examined carefully into the methods of the ancient rulers. When the people are at peace, they are governed and live according to the proper rules of conduct (Li), but when troubles arise, punishments must be used. When these penalties are not sufficient to control the people, the sanctions of religion must be employed, for men are frightened by spiritual forces which they cannot see nor hear. We know that Buddha lived in ancient times, and we may employ his teaching, with that of Lao Tzi, even though we do not use their names, to reinforce the doctrines of Confucius.

" After the passing of the Western Han Dynasty (7 A. D.), our religion failed to control the people. The laws were not enforced, no one endeavored to live righteously, and punishments were unjust. The religions (Tao), of Buddha and Lao Tzi spread over China during this period of disorder, and the people were anxious to receive them because of the troublous times, so that there was no one who did not pay respect to them. Although the doctrines of the wheels of life (Karma and Salvation), of suffering and blessedness, were

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introduced to deceive the people, yet they were useful in frightening men, in awakening them to the necessity of right behaviour, and in checking their sinful desires. Those who did not clearly understand the principles of these religions, became monks and zealously spread their doctrines. These ignorant persons maintained that the teachings of Budda and Lao Tzi were quite different from those of Confucius. However, they were wrong on this point. 794

To the east of my yamen there stood a San Shen An. After the war (the Manchu Conquest), the temple fell into such decay that no god would stay there. Therefore, I called carpenters to set up new buildings. The first three halls were used in sacrificing to the three Buddhas (the author probably includes Kuanti and Lao Tzi), and on the sides quarters were erected for the monks. All were under the control of the monk, Yen Ming. The red tiles of the splendid roofs and the carved columns were impressive and improved the appearance of the temple. When the work was finished, the abbott asked me to write an essay. I stood before him and said :

" Do you know what my purpose was in rebuilding this temple ? The present generation have degenerated from the example of their ancestors. They are not moved when taught with righteousness, nor are they frightened by punishments. Have they lost their original nature ? No, but the right methods have not been used in dealing with them.

" I have rebuilt this temple beside the yamen in order to inspire good people, and to frighten those inclined to evil. Even when punishments cannot change them, they may still be affected by the gods, and by the thought of a future judgment. When they enter the hall and look at the image of Kuan, they will realize how temperate and kind he was, and how simple and meek were Buddha and Lao Tzi. Those who wish to follow the example of Kuan Kung may thus be converted to righteousness, and those who would learn from Buddha and Lao Tzi have their vices put aside. In this way their weakness will be overcome and punishments may be stopped. When punishments have ceased right conduct (Li) and righteousness (Yi), will be restored. And when right conduct and righteousness once more prevail, the government will be perfect. Is not this teaching them with righteousness, and frightening

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794 them with punishment? If punishments are more effective than moral teaching, we govern contrary to the example of the ancient rulers."

„ So I wrote the essay."

DECREES OF THE BOARD OF RITES.

794 798 Translated by Parker *(ibid.)*, from the Tung Hua Lu (Decrees of the Manchu Dynasty).

"The 6th month, 1744. The Board of Rites presents a report to the effect that the Literary Chancellor for Honan province has represented the existence of over 590 chapels in that region of a so called Triple Religion, in which the teacher of everlasting memory occupies a position inferior to that given to Buddha and Laotzi, an unorthodox arrangement calculated grieviously to mislead the people, who vie with each other in squandering their substance for no other end than the destruction of proper doctrine; the chancellor recommends that the governor of that province be commanded strictly to prohibit such doings; and the board not only approves this recommendation, but advises that steps be taken to introduce the sacred effigy into all libraries and schools throughout the province; those of Buddha and Laotzi, on the other hand, being removed to separate temples, along with the priests attached to Buddhism and Taoism, who must only reside there; and moreover, that other provinces be notified to issue like prohibitions. His Majesty agrees to this."

"The 7th month, being the new moon. Wang Chen Ki represents that in the Shou Yang Hsien city, and in other cities of Shansi, there are temples of the Triple Religion, and that the most sacred Sage of the past, Confucius, is to be found in one and the same temple receiving the same worship as Buddha and Laotzi, a state of affairs contrary to the canons of worship. Let Shen K'i Hien issue circular instructions to all jurisdictions under his rule to have an immediate change made, and if any other provinces have similar joint temples with common worship, let all viceroys and gover-

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nors concerned take identical steps to bring about a change for the better, in order to exalt the orthodox teaching. "

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The San Shen An no longer exists as a temple, but the cult can not have been entirely suppressed, for I found the three altars in the chapel of a charitable organization outside the West Gate of Anking.

Here I may close this brief survey of the temples and cults of Anking.